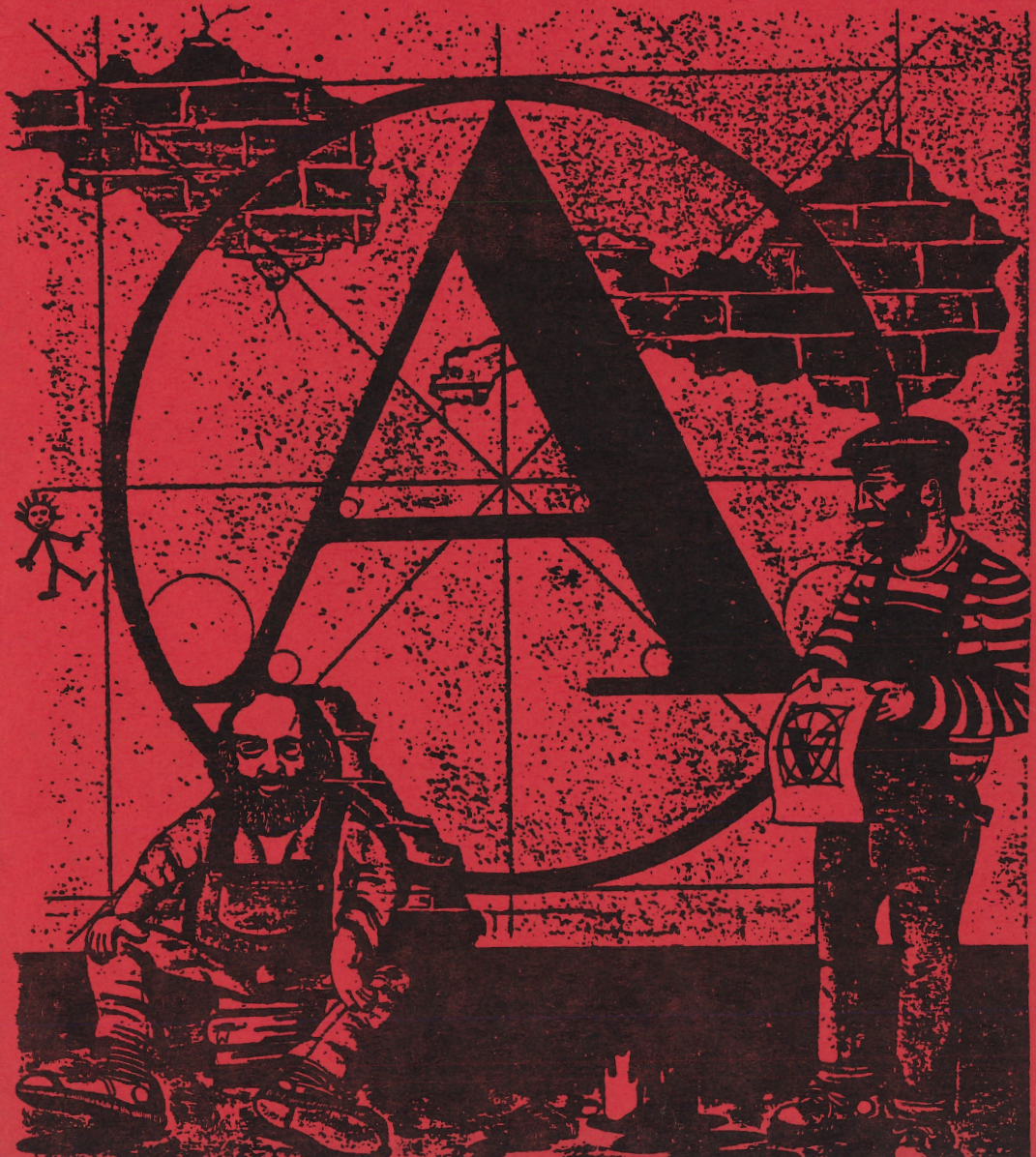
RED & BLACK

an anarchist journal

No. 11



RED & BLACK

AN ANARCHIST JOURNAL

No 11 WINTER 1982

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FREEDOM IS NOT A CHOICE BUT AN ABSENCE OF A MASTER

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Red and Black,

P.O. Box 115

Enmore. N.S.W.

Australia 2042.

SUBSCRIPTIONS: $5.00 for four issues.
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poland

Solidarity is crushed officially. The ghost of Marxist-Leninism rides triumphantly at the bayonets points. For the Greatest Glory of Socialism the workers and peasants are to be sacrificed once again. One does not need to prove h/er false consciousness by referring to Turkish atrocities to justify the Polish repression where "people's army" and "people's police", the socialist gendarmes of law and order, are quelling people's demands for bread, freedom and equal distribution of the wealth thich they, the people themselves, have produced. Once again the history has proved that between the oppressed and the oppressors. socialists or capitalists. there is nothing in common; that if the workers are to regain their own consciousness and recuperate their active role in history. they have to suppress all forms of government.

The last sentence would not reverberate favourably among the acolytes of the authoritarian socialism for whom socialism without a party is a utopia; for whom the role of the avant-garde is necessary because it suits their hierarchical tendencies and their elitist predispositions or. perhaps, their masochistic cravings. The real people can be shot as partridges, unless they fit the frame of their preconceived ideas. If some of them support Solidarity it is because they are to gain politically. Yet, paradoxically, it is the workers for whom the socialist bells suppose to ring.

Solidarity finds also support in the Mother Church which Lachrymas Christi often adore her face while she condones the crucifixion of the workers. Then there are politicians bankers and other parasites whose crocodile tears are exuberant when profit can be made. Overtly they are on the side of the Polish workers while tacitly they prefer Jaruselski, because with stability, law and order. investments are secured. The Red and Black supports Solidarity too.It supports the attempt of the Polish workers to form an union on syndicalist line. Our sympathies, as may be guessed, are with the oppressed but we need to make our analysis of the situation.

The socialist cultural rationalization in Poland is bankrupt. Thirty years of socialist domination has failed to produce socialist consciousness. There is a lack of socialist culture among the masses. Walesa is one of them. According to the Polish Marxist-Leninist Institute "Walesa could not be a national leader because he is an ordinary worker." Therefore "the instauration of military dictatorship will be accepted by a greater part of the Polish population, notably the peasants and the white collar workers who prefer, after all, order even if it is at the expense of political liberties." And why they prefer such an order? Because the socialist culture as admitted by the Institute never made an impact on the masses. "In the countriside and in the offices there still exist (after so many years of communist domination) a nostalgy for the national-socialist regime of Pilsudski and to exchange an incompetent civil totalitarianism with barrack totalitarianism is not after all a bad thing(Solidarite Ouvriere No 100, March '82)." True it is not a bad thing for the military-bureaucratic government but bad enough for the workers and the peasants who resist it to the point of being shot.

When they tried to move towards independence from the Party, the latter decided to prevent them. The first attemptwas to co-opt the leaders of Solidarity, ignoring the workers, into the already distastful Marxist-Leninist regime, by corrupting them. Andrey Zabinski, instructor of police officers and security services in Katowice, clearly stated this: "The leaders of Solidarity must try the taste of power. Rooms must be placed everywhere at their disposal, and furnished as luxuriously as possible. I have always said it, and I shall repeat it to this assembly: I don't know any men whom having power would not demoralise (what an anarchistic insight!), it is merely a question of time and degree... They are beginning to travel and spend lavishly the money that...in short, it's the good management!... The first goal is that they don't throw members of our party out of their unions. The second is that they throw out the people from KOR. Then, we shold quite patiently peel the rest(Der Spiegel, April 6th '81)."

"Thus the bureaucracy, after having played off Walesa and the ruling strata of Solidarity against the workers

ended up by engaging the liquidation of the trade-union in its entirety, that-is-to-say on one hand the reformist management which had become useless to it, and on the other the 10 million of its grass-roots members whose revolt it was really necessary to begin to crush by means of the sole force that still seemed to remain standing in this decomposed State: the army (It's us they're shooting in Warsaw - a French poster, Paris, December 1981)."

The managers of the Solidarity were warn of the military operation by the dissident general Dubicki. They pay no attention. Here a few questions remain unanswered: Was the management of Solidarity so naive to really believe that the communist would tolerate dual power? Or - like many other managers they thought of themselves rather than the rank and file? Did they think that the party was going to commit suicide or dig its own grave?

Perhaps, like Walesa they were religious and not socialists. "I am a union man, not a socialist. A man without religion is a dangerous man, and without religion I would be a dangerous man." Hence they refused to be dangerous men. They refused to cross Rubicon and threaten the Socialist Establishment. What they wanted was to become a part of the Establishment. This seems to be the case if one is to take the following statement by Walesa to its logical conclusion: "The Government must rule and it must be strong... Let's give them a chance (A critique of State Socialism p. 44)." The Government took the chance and Solidarity was decimated. Once again the path was paved for the triumph of the Holy Trinity: The State Firing Squads, The Episcopal Stench and Servile Trade-Unions.

Thus our support for Solidarity is not unqualified. We support this feature of it which, due to the pressure from rank and file, moved towards revolutionary syndicalism. To condemn Solidarity outright is to support the vested interests of the military-bureaucratic apparatchiks and Western capitalism. Both are affraid of trade-union consciousness when it transcends state-bourgeois trade-unions.

Thus Jaruselski is doing excellent job for both: East and West. East is, for the time being, saved from decomposition; West is safe for capitalism. Socialism is in re-

treat and the workers are prevented from deviationism and kept in line. This seems to be the function of the authoritarian socialism throughout history. The article on State Communism which R. Rocker wrote in 1921, part of which is published in this issue of the Red and Black, is to the point.

the failure of state communism

For some time now, Russia has shown signs of an internal crisis which will, without doubt, have a more decisive importance regarding its immediate future than all the shocks set in motion during the course of the Revolution. The economic compromise of the Russian government with foreign capitalism, the Kronstadt uprising, the open war declared against anarchists and syndicalists by Lenin at the 10th Congress of the Communist Party, the savage persecution of all parties and non-Bolshevik socialist tendencies and, last but not least, the undeniable process of decomposition within the Communist Party itself, are events whose importance and effect upon the international workers' movement can't be evaluated and measured properly today. It is precisely the extraordinary importance that the present crisis holds for the whole socialist movement that forces us to state our position publicly.

At present, it is not so much the criticism in itself but the way it is made and the attitudes that accompany it, that makes it really impossible to take a clear and unequivocal position on the issue. Indeed, it is not only a matter of determined theoretical opposition or different concepts of the probable phases of social development, but also an issue of world historical importance, whose solution, in one sense or another, will exercise a powerful influence on the future of Europe and the whole civilized world. Thus, every sincere socialist and revolutionary ought to tackle these problems more carefully and with self-control: eliminating questions of personal matters from their horizon and trying to discover the central point and the real origin of all events in question. But even in this case the judgement will always be of relative significance because it is subjected to many erroneous opinions, especially on matters of secondary importance. At least one will have the personal satisfaction of being capable of guarding oneself against blind impulses due to

fleeting moods which until now, happened to be unsurmountable obstacles for making a valid judgement.

In the struggle which has just begun in all the workers' movement for or against Moscow, no examples, in the above sense, at lest for the time being, can be found. On the contrary, it seems that there is a determination to prevent a thorough study of the Russian case by means of a frenzied distortion of facts and by a cult of big words. Blind hatred and silly phraseology always play the most prominent role in a struggle which is of vital importance for the development of the socialist movement. But, we have to say it from now, the responsibility for this distressing state of affairs lies with the men in Moscow and the communist parties which follow their instructions. We don't like to talk about the personal excesses of those who are carried away by their tempers and political passions, but of coldly applied method which does not shrink from using any baseness and personal slander when it is a matter of achieving a given aim or of getting rid of some embarrassing opponent. A glance at various communist party publications, particularly in Germany, is sufficient to prove that our affirmation is, alas, well-founded. Whoever is not blindly in agreement with the dictates and ideas of the men in power in Moscow, and their little followers abroad, is irredeemably labelled as "counter-revolutionary" and branded as a traitor to the workers'movement. All the polemic of those people is aimed at morally poisoning the atmosphere. It is rather remarkable that all those who try to descredit as "petty bourgeois", as "the servants of the bourgeoisie" all those tendencies in the workers' movement they don't like, borrow this well-known weapon of systematic suspicion of political opponents from the bourgeoisie.

Calumny, - the Weapon of the Bourgeoisie.

While Robespierre and Saint Just were preparing the condemnation of the Herbertists, the Jacobin press began to accuse the latter as "agents of Pitt". Since then this cruel joke has never stopped being played and the last war provided abundant examples of this. Whoever in England, France or elsewhere, dared to protest against the wholesale slaughter of people was treated as a German agent

by the patriotic murderous press, while in Germany itself all those opposing the war were evidently "English spies". This paltry method which, until now, has remained a prerogative of the lowest bourgeois journalistic terrorism, is today the preferred weapon of the Russian Communist Party's press and its pathetic branches broad.

Maria Spiridonova and the maximalists are counter-revolutionaries! The anarchists - counter-revolutionaries! The Kronstadt insurgents - counter-revolutionaries! Makhno - a counter-revolutionary! And whoever does not believe all that, is also a counter-revolutionary!

The specific conditions within which the Russian Revolution developed have allowed the partisans of modern "communism" to put this Jesuitical tactic into practice for such a long time and with such a success. The outburst of the Russian Revolution was, in fact, the first blazing sign of the awakening of humanity amidst the monotony of killing which had transformed Europe into a vast abattoir. The whole world began to breathe again: the evil spell was broken. The frightful hypnosis of murderous folly, which for years had dragged humanity in an insane circle of blood and ruins, had lost its force, one sensed its end was approaching. As the War of Independence of the American colonies once gave impetus to the revolutionary ideas in Old France, so now the Russian Revolution had a similar effect on the evolution of Germany and Austria, precipitating the collapse of the Great Central Powers. The Revolution liberated the world from the curse of war, which explains the immeasurable enthusiasm of the whole working class and, also, the enthusiasm of people extraneous to the revolutionary cause. They saw in the Revolution the beginning of a new era for Europe. In the bosom of the proletarian masses a mighty desire to finish with wage slavery aroused; especially, after the collapse of Kerensky and the taking of power by the Bolsheviks.

The reason behind the Latin countries for a straightforward sympathy for the Russian Revolution was the following because the old Bakunist traditions were still alive among the working masses, the latter tended to confuse Bolshevism with the ideas of Bakunin and looked at it as

an attempt to realise them.

Consequently, when the imperialist powers of the Entente mobilized against Russia and unfettered a counter-revolution, when Koltchak, Denikin and Wrangel threatened the existence of the Soviet Republic, the sympathy of all true revolutionaries, whatever tendencies they had, went completely over to Soviet Russia. All those who were in touch with the events, knew that many revolutionaries who were opposed to the Bolsheviks, did not remain Platonical sympathizers either. In fact this was the attitude of our comrades in Russia as well as in many other countries. People such as Kropotkin, Malatesta, Bertoni, Domela Nieuwenhuis, Sebastian Faure and many others, who explicitly, from the beginning, opposed Bolshevism, took the side of revolutionary Russia, not because they agreed with the Bolshevik principles and directives, but merely because they were revolutionaries and as such they were the enemies of all counter-revolutionaries.

Despite the news which was reaching us, despite the measures taken by the Soviet government which were considered to be fatal for the development of the Revolution, the anarchist and syndicalist press was very circumspect in its criticism of the Bolshevik ideas for the sake of not providing the counter-revolutionaries with any material. We kept silent because we thought that it was not the right time to criticise. Everyone understood the enormous difficulties which Russia was facing and which were threatening the course of revolutionary events, therefore, it was thought that it would be rather easier to criticise than to improve things. This instinctive feeling of responsibility and the awareness that Russia, bleeding from many wounds, had to fight for its destiny, silenced a lot of us. It was in this difficult situation under the irresistible pressure of circumstances that, all non-Bolshevik tendencies in the socialist movement in general, were brushed aside, which gave the Bolshevik supporters, people without scruples, the possibility to slander as counter-revolutionaries all those who had chosen different ways and who did not want to yield to their dictates.

It is necessary to take a position.

Since then times have changed. Russia itself has

reached a turning point regarding its internal evolution which could be decisive for its near future. The famous 21 points of Lenin and the attempt of the Third International to lure the whole workers' movement into the sphere of State Communism, force us to publicly state our case.

Those who had believed that the Russian rulers were obliged, by the necessity of the war, to adopt, in the interior of the country, measures which they felt were repulsive to them and which were going to end with the ceasing of hostility, were bitterly deceived. The state of affairs has not improved, it has simply become unbearable. Today a terrible reaction has gripped the country suffocating all spiritual life.

Recently we had the occasion to talk with dozens of men and women who had taken part in the congress of the Third International and the Red Trade Union International in Moscow and who told us what they had seen and heard. Among them there were partisans of various socialist tendencies and citizens of eight different countries, but what a change!

In the past, most of those coming from Russia praised all they had seen. Everything was as it ought to have been; the curtailment of freedom was justified as an absolute necessity due to the critical situation of the country; a sign of doubt was high treason to the revolutionary cause. It could be inferred that 90% of the red piligrims who visited Mecca and drew their revolutionary wisdom from its fountains learnt absolutely nothing about the real situation in Russia. The majority did not know Russian and stayed at the hotel Lux in Moscow or at some other suitable place. A group of zealous employees, for the most part members of the Tcheka, busied themselves with the physical and intellectual well-being of the guests and informed them of all details on the marvellous communist world. Guided by them, the guests visited factories, schools, theatres and so on, and made excursions into the country in comfortable trains and cars, always attentively watched by the Soviet agents who made sure that nothing disturbed the planned programme. They were shown townslike Potemkin and were impressed, but not many among them were aware of the real state of the coun-

try. Most of them did not even suspect that they were the victims of bad theatrical charm. Besides, the Minister of Finance was very kind to guests and delegates, which greatly contributed to many of them, naturally, becoming ever more enthusiastic than usual.

Thus, for several years, the world had been flooded by waves of articles, pamphlets and books written by those people who, after spending 6-8 weeks in Russia, were obliged to communicate their "experiences" to their astonished contemporaries. None other than Bill Haywood provides a typical example of this: barely two days after his arrival in Moscow he filled the columns of London's Daily Herald with hymns of praise of Soviet Russia. When a man like Bill Haywood, who is not easilly deceived, acts in such a manner than what has to be said about subservient spirits of 3rd and 4th deggrees?

But as we have said, even in this domain a big change is taking place and one feels the beginning of deep disillusionment. Among dozens of socialist comrades of various tendencies, as mentioned before, who returned from Russia lately, we could no longer find one to make a statement as naiv e as before. All of them, without exception, were disturbed. and most of them bitterly deceived by what they have seen, expressed their feelings freely. We have seen people go enthusiastically, and. having seen the fanatic partisans of Bolshevism. come back totally heart-broken, having lost all hope: among them a Spanish comrade who. a few months before, had publicly accused the German syndicalists of being counter-revolutionaries for having appealed to the world to helpalleviate the desperate situation of the Russian anarcho-syndicalists and to demand from the Russian rulers the liberation of the imprisoned revolutionaries.

The Stifling Atmosphere of Despotism.

It is not the terrible economic conditions existing in Russia which have led these men and women to revise their opinions but rather the whole stifling atmosphere of unbearable despotism which, like a thick cloud, covers Russia and which pushes to extreme limits the worse excesses of Tsarism. The pitiless repression of all free thought, the absence of any guarantee of personal freedom

even within certain limits as is the case in capitalist countries, the suppression of all rights which give the workers the simple possibility to become aware of their ideas and sentiments, such as the freedom to meet, the right to strike, etc.; the dreadful development of a system of police and spies that goes beyond what has existed in this gloomy domain, the mud-pit of commissars and the blind routine of the entire hierarchy of soulless functionaries, who, for so long, have suffocated every sign of life and autonomy in the masses - all these facts, along with numerous others which cannot any longer be concealed as in the past, opened the eyes of those who, without hope, have succumbed to general hypnosis.

But today there are some disturbing phenomena which many, who came back from Russia only a few months ago, would not think possible. Those who, not so long ago, declared as traitors to the working class people who dared to utter the slightest criticism of the methods and the ways the Moscow dictators act, now are becoming their fierce adversary. The German Communist Workers Party (KAPD) is a classical example of that. The party whose leaders, were avidly interested in roubles, cast an envious eye at Moscow and tried by the use of "revolutionary phraseology", to the limit of cerebral exhaustion, to win the benevolence and good favour of the Russian centre. Only three months ago these Lilliputians of the spirit, who were content to pose as heroes of tragedy and who were angry if anyone didn't take their stupid farce seriously, and who part company with the most capable ones among them, literally crawled to the Third International to profit from its basket of roubles. Now the same are solidly competing in slandering the same International and the Soviet Union: "Lenin does not want the revolution! The Third International is the biggest fraud ever! Trotsky, Zinoviev, Radek and cohorts are swindlers! The Soviet Government is merely a representative of capitalism! The Soviet bourgeois government is the advocate of international bourgeois interests!" . These are the headlines of the journal The Communist Worker. As far as we are concerned, we fear that such a sudden political change will be repeated often and that the Bolsheviks will face more bitter disappointments among their most fanatical followers and servile devotees. The recent position adopted by the German

Communist Party(K.P.D.), the affair of Levi and comrades are bad omens and should be given some thought. These phenomena are inevitable because a party which buys its propagandists and men of confidence, far from making good friends, extends the putrid atmosphere of corruption around itself, which irresistibly attracts all political adventurers whose relation with the party are of short but fatal duration.

For a serious observer the present attacks of the leaders of the KPD are not more important than the past praises of these gentlemen. To study the Russian events seriously, the invectives of the bourgeois press should be taken into account but only in their importance as symptoms of the actual state of affairs.

The Failure of State Socialism.

What can be observed in Russia today is the collapse of a system, the declaration of the failure of State socialism in its most repulsive form. The personal character or, as certain people allude, the lack of character of the actors of this drama plays a secondary role. When Lenin himself is forced to state that at least 50% of Soviet "commissars" should not be in the places they have occupied, it does not prove that the system itself is bad. But that he no longer can be freed from the evil spirit he has unchained and which is now gnawing his own head is a phenomenon which has its roots in the system and cannot be explained but by the system itself.

Lenin, this great opportunist, knows this well even if he does not dare to openly acknowledge it. He knows that the Bolshevik experiment has failed completely and that nothing in the world can prevent what is happening from not actually happening. That is why, all other roads closed, he has called on international capitalism for a help. He is reproached for having suddenly become moderate, but to say that the explanation of his present policy of compromise is to be found in his change of opinion is groundless and also absurd. The Russian government has not come to terms with foreign capitalism because Lenin and his associates are moderate but because there is no other way. What is happening today is not due to any change of ideas but to an inflexible necessity born of circumstances

which he, more than anybody else, helped to create.

Certainly he could willingly go, leaving the place to the left elements, but this is exactly what a government never does. In fact, this is the essential characteristic of all power: those who possess it try, by all means, to preserve the monopoly of their domination. What worries the Soviet government is also the awareness that any retreat will have grave personal consequences for its members, therefore they need, in the present conditions, to affirm their power without any concession. The famous saying of Lenin: "In the economic domain we are ready to all compromises but none in the political one" is, from this point of view, very clear and hardly can be misinterpreted.

Thus is explained the persecution of anarchists, syndicalists, maximalists and the like, which has been pursued with unusual ardour lately. Are not they who are the obstacle to the shifting to the right and, therefore, should not they, in the interests of the "raison d'etat", be destroyed in one or another way?

The fact that the Soviet government did not hesitate to close down the printing press of the "Golos Truda", mainly occupied in printing the works of Kropotkin, is, without doubt the best indication of the course which the Bolshevik state machinery is taking. It is completely steering to the right and in order that this movement is accomplished as easy as possible, without any deep conflicts, the interest of the present governmental policy demands obliteration of the left elements.

The events in Russia today are similar to those of March 1794 in the French Revolution. Robespierre and a handful of men who had in their hands the destiny of France, while caving into the right, were forced to destroy the left opposition. They sent to the scaffold the men of the Commune - the Hebertists and the "Enrages", those who the Girondin - Brissot significantly referred to as "anarchists"; just as in Russia today the real defenders of the soviet system: the anarchists, syndicalists and maximalists are imprisoned or executed. In France the policy of Robespierre led to the 9th Thermidor and then to the military dictatorship of Napoleon. To what

abyss will the policy of Lenin and his comrades lead Russia to?

CHAPTER II

A false historical argument.

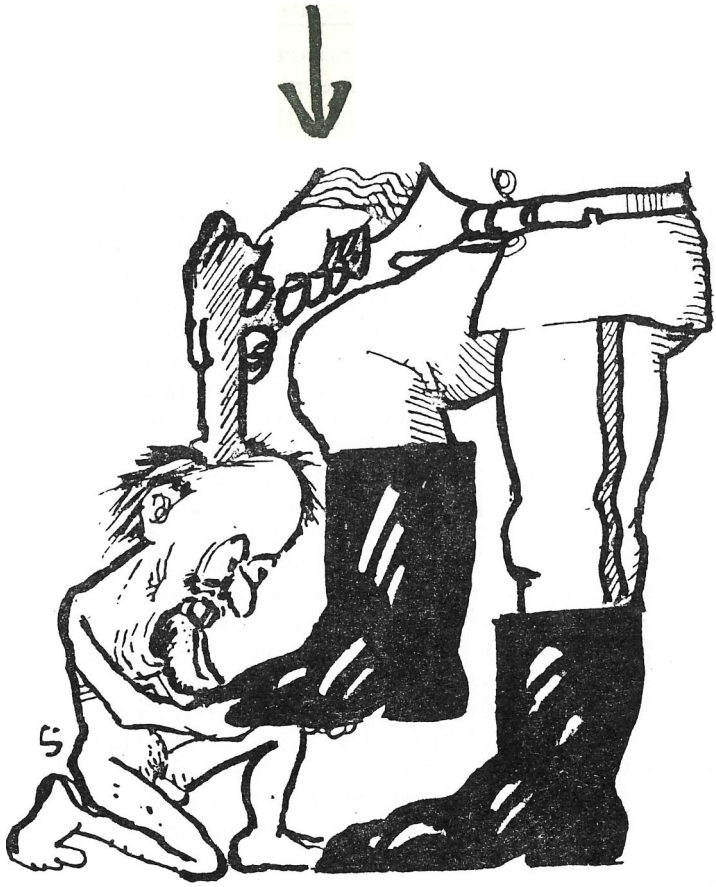
Above, we have mentioned that the specific historical conditions within which, until now, the Russian Revolution is taking place are reasserting themselves strongly in the fight waged by the Bolsheviks against their political opponents. The extremely difficult situation in which, in the initial phase of the Bolshevik regime, the Soviet Republic had found itself, with the counter-revolutionary hordes supported by foreigners threatening its existence, made possible that any measure of coercion by the Russian government, any violent repression of public criticism was accepted as a matter of fact and was morally justified on the ground of the terrible circumstances. As understandable as such a concept appears to be, it, nontheless, entails the great danger of interference with the activity of the critical mind to the extent of suppressing it totally. In fact it is in this way that the observer looses, without even being conscious and aware of it, his personal judgement and all senses of proportion of the real events. A hypothesis made with reservation becomes in their eyes an inflexible principle and a fatal necessity. Thus a great number of our anarchist comrades, prominent in the anarchist movement, came to defend all Bolshevik acts on the grounds that they were " historically necessary". Even most of our Russian comrades were victims of the same hypnosis until, at last, the cruel experience opened their eyes.

It became a habit, with closed eyes, to approve everything coming from Russia and while there was no enthusiasm about the adopted measures over there, the comforting thought was that being in the interest of the Revolution they were inevitable. Thus one got used to accept every despotic act of the Government and each brutal violation of the most elementary human rights, even when directed against the authentic revolutionaries, who were no less devoted to the cause of socialism than the spokesmen of the Bolshevik state.

SOCIALISM OR COMMUNISM

PLUS

GOVERNMENT



"What do you want", they used to say, "revolutions are not made by rose-water. At a time when the international reaction is united in its fight against the Revolution, the Soviet Government is simply forced to adopt such measures." And, with a particular predilection, they will draw our attention to the history of the Great French Revolution, to convince us, by an argument from historical experience, that each great historical disturbance is faced with phenomena similar to those observed in Russia now.

Examples from the French Revolution.

Unfortunately, the historical experience is contrary to that. The very "dictatorship" of Robespierre and his followers, and with it the persecution of all true revolutionary tendencies, began when the Revolution had subsided and the central state took precedence over it. Even in the most critical period of the French Revolution none ever dared to suppress the revolutionary press of the various tendencies; they only authorized the official government one. The most extreme partisans of the dictatorship had not even dared to dream of such measures. Also, at the most crucial time of the Revolution when the foreign armies were on French soil, and the counter-revolution in the Vandee and other regions had risen its head menacingly, there was not the slightest thought either to suppress the freedom of meetings or to forbid any criticism of political affairs as it is the case in Russia for some years now. No doubt the Jacobins were trying unceasingly to muster all revolutionary forces in the hands of a strong government but as long as the Revolution was ascending their attempts failed. Men like Jacque Roux, Leclerc, Varlet, Dolivet, Chalier and many other ultra-revolutionary elements, who for Robespierre and his followers were always the black beasts, could publicly pursue their oral and written propaganda. It should not be taken for granted that the open criticism of the Assembly and the Convention was done in a moderate manner either! A glance at the revolutionary press at the time is a sufficient proof of that.

This freedom of expression, therefore, was the necessary driving force for the progress of the Revolution and for the development of peoples' creative initiative. If the French Revolution was capable of overcoming the obstacles it was faced with, to liberate the country, and Europe with it, from the tyranny of the absolute monarchy and from the yoke of serfdom, it was because the revolutionary forces knew how to keep their autonomy and had not succumbed to any governmental dictatorship. The Paris revolutionary sections and that of the provinces forming the nervous system of the great popular movement, within which the activists operated, were the counterbalance to the full power of a central government which would have hindered revolutionary impetus and frustrated its aims. Only later on when the active revolutionary forces were exhausted in the struggle, and the Jacobins succeeded to strip the sections of their autonomy and incorporate them -as subordinate organs - into the central apparatus of the state, the Revolution began to decline. Robespierre's victory was also a victory for the counter-revolution. The 24th of March 1794 and the 9th Thermidor were the two pillars on which the victory of the Reaction was built.

To use the French Revolution as a justification for the Bolshevik tactics in Russia is a proof of total misinterpretation of historical facts which offer quite a different picture. In fact, in all decisive moments of the French Revolution the initiative of action came directly from the people. It is in this creative manifestation of the masses that lies the secret of the Revolution, and precisely because the revolutionary forces could develop freely, and each tendency could find in the bosom of the people a suitable place for its efficiency, the Revolution was able to destroy all its enemy and completely abolish the disgraceful feudal system. Not after the Bolshevik Government succeeded in paralysing the autonomous mass movemnt, in suppressing all other tendencies, systematically suffocating every true revolutionary initiative, and going back to capitalism had its members realized that they alone could not realize their initial aims. The Russian Soviets could fulfill the same role as the section in the French Revolution did, but deprived of their autonomy by the central power which allowed them to exist only in name, their fertile influence

on the Revolution was lost; they dragged on an useless and veg tative existence as organs subordinated to the state.

Lenin and the Councils system.

The Bolsheviks were never supporters of a true Councils system. For example, in 1905, Lenin explained to the president of the Saint-Petersburg soviet that "his party cannot sympathize with an obsolete institution such as the councils system." But, as in the initial stages the Russian Revolution developed along the councils' lines, the Bolsheviks to take power had, willy-nilly, accomodate themselves to this very doubtful in their eyes heritage. From then on all their activity consisted in depriving the councils of all their strength and subordinating them to the central government. That they succeeded was, in our opinion, the greatest tragedy of the Russian Revolution. Working systematically to subordinate all aspects of social life to the absolute power of a government invested with all rights had led to this restricted hierarchy of functionaries that became fatal to the development of the Russian Revolution.

When Lenin explains that he has to work in such a way to assure that capitalism moves towards state capitalism, which is the point of departure for the development of socialism, he is doing nothing else but covering his embarrassment due to the hard pressure of the present conditions; this he knows better than anybody else. Nonetheless he should make his actual course to the right less bitter for the socialist workers and it would not be necessary to be very selective in his choice of arguments.

As far as we are concerned, the cruel persecution to which are subjected the various socialist tendencies in Russia today - especially the leftist ones, and the brutal and systematic repression of all opinions which are not blindly justifying the present sysem, is not born by a feeling of the necessity to defend the conquest of the Revolution and the existence of the soviet republic, but, on the contrary, it is born by a blind authoritarian self-conceited small group which in the glorious name of the "Dictatorship of the proletariat" is covering its lust for power.

contracts between anarchists

Because anarchism is generally seen as a no-law or anti-law view of society, it may seem paradoxical to speak of anarchist legal theory. But a moment's thought will show that it is not.

To reject the concept or institution of law presupposes an opinion about its nature and its relation to other concept, or institutions. The legal theory of no-law anarchists would consitst, then, in a systematization of their view of the nature and relationships of law. But if this theory yet exists, it is in a most fragmentary state, for anarchist writers ha rarely taken a sustained interest in law. And, being a theory built on a premise of rejection, it would envisage no anarchist role for law.

However Paul Eltzbacher, a German judge who published a study of seven exponents of anarchism in 1900, argued that some of them had left a place for law in their conception of future society (Freedom Press reprinted Eltzbacher's Anarchism in 1960, with an appended essay on "Anarcho-syndicalism" by Rudolph Rocker). If this is right, then we have to recognize a second strand in anarchist thought. Much of the critical analysis of the no-law school can be expected to turn up in the second strand, but the latter will also give an account of the role of law in anarchist society.

The question might be raised of whether the word "law" means the same in both strands, for if it does not the appearance of two anarchist schools of thought would be deceptive. I ahall not go into this here, except to notice that Eltzbacher himself classified them by his understanding of what a legal norm is 'when men will that a given procedure be generally observed within a circle which includes themselves, and their power is so great that their will is competent to affect the other men of this circle, a legal norm exists"(p 17)

On the basis of this definition(which applies also to ordinary theories of law), Eltzbacher treated Godwin, Tolstoy and Stirner asnegatinglaw for the future, but Bakunin, Kropotkin, Proudhon and Tucker as affirming it. This classification being relative to a definition, it follows that another classification might result from a different understanding of what counts as law. For example, if law were understood as presupposing the State, then all seven exponents of anarchism would presumably be in the no-law camp.

Instead of going into the what-is law question, I have set myself a more modest problem, which has to do with the nature of contracts in anarchist theory. Is there a place for them? Are they different from the contracts dealt with by ordinary legal writers?

Eltzbacher's four affirmers of law agreed that contracts would have to be lived up to by the persons who made them. By entering into a contract, that is to say, the member of anarchist society would lay himself under an obligation which might properly be enforced against him, even though laws enacted by the State had gone out of existence. This stress on the importance of contracts can be found also in such modern exponents of anarchism as Armand and Baldelli. The reason for it is not far to seek.

The ordinary course of life includes cooperative action--no one being able to live to himself alone. Now cooperation is based on promises, understandings or agreements among those involved. The same is true of longer-term arrangements for exchange, which seem to be a feature of all economies. The possibility of these socially necessary or personally advantageous activities can only be undermined if persons who have put themselves out for others regularly find that the agreed return is never made. There is more to this than mere material loss, as Baldelli points out: "If a friend begs us for a loan, and we give it to him and he prospers while we become poor, and when we ask him kinfly to return the loan he tells us that we never lent him anything, the shock and hurt we feel are not caused only or chiefly by the monetary loss. If we work in an underground organization, we expect the police to come and seize us at any moment, but we would feel sick at heart if they were guided to our place of hiding by the person who persuaded us to join the underground" (Social anarchism, p. 62).

No doubt it is considerations of this sort that led the law-affirming anarchists to their conclusion that persons should be bound by agreements into which they had freely entered. But is this view of contracts any different from that of ordinary legal writers?

The classical law of contract (i.e. the law roughly contemporaneous with Eltzbacher's exponents of anarchism) insisted on freedom to make contracts and on the sanctity of contracts once made. In the words of the nineteenth-century judge George Jessel: "if there is one thing more than another which public policy requires, it is that men of full age and competent understanding shall have the utmost liberty of contracting and that their contracts, when entered into freely and voluntarily, shall be held sacred and shall be enforced by Courts of Justice." This is essentially the view of the law-affirming anarchists, except that they would not have looked to a State judicial system to enforce contracts but would have had some other method in mind.

The trouble is that the possibility of coercive procedures implied by the notion that agreements shall be enforceable is in conflict with the characteristic anarchist stress on freedom of action. Would it not be more consistent to let a person withdraw without penalty from a contract? But then people might have their labour exploited and their trust betrayed, which most anarchists would deplore, and the circle within which people cooperate might draw in on itself to avoid these consequences. Probably there is no satisfactory resolution of this difficulty. But perhaps it can be lessened. Both Baldelli and Armand have tried to do so, and their efforts bring out more clearly what is (or might be) involved in contracts between anarchists. We shall see, however, that each of them ends by tipping the balance: Baldelli towards sanctity and Armand towards freedom.

Baldelli's starting point, which holds for more areas of conduct than the contractual, is that no one should be exempt from judgment by a third party in his relations with others. What this means is not incessant snooping and nagging but the permanent availability of protection and redress for a person who has been abused or who wishes to end a relationship. This requires the third party to have the upper hand, and this in turn calls for the rest of society to stand unflinchingly behind him.

When it comes to contracts, Baldelli says that they need the authority of a third party to be valid. He will judge the fairness of the contract and of the conditions under which it is to be carried out, and he will make sure that no outsider will be injured by it.

A contract once made will therefore be enforceable, though it is likely that the process of making it will reduce the chances of one party trying to get out of it or of the two parties being at cross-purposes about its meaning. Perhaps there is a likeness here to the precaution which two people in present-day society might take of having their agreement drawn up in writing by a lawyer. However this is too cumbersome for most circumstances, and the same consideration would apply to the procedure suggested by Baldelli. I am not clear what a person's position would be who had agreed with another about some transaction but had not validated the agreement by calling in a third party, but I can only suppose that neither would have any right against the other and that any attempt to enforce the agreement would result in the other party (who might be the one who had reneged) calling on a third to protect him.

On an ordinary legal view the validity of an agreement is determined by a court should a dispute arise between the parties: similarly the court finds whether the defendant is in breach of its terms. With Baldelli the validity is to be established at the time the agreement is made, so that, if a dispute arises, the third party's responsibility will merely be to find who is at fault.

The freedom of the parties is safeguarded, then, by the fact that no one has to enter into a contract, but everyone does so voluntarily. Because the third party has seen to the fair and ininjurious nature of the agreement, he who tries to avoid carrying out his side of it will be seen as doing the othe other an injustice which cannot be defended (unless, of course, he maintains that the third party did his work badly, but Baldelli does not elaborate on this).

Baldelli has probably gone as far as one could to reconcile freedom with sanctity, and he has done so by trying to ensure that fairness of terms and clarity about terms are put beyond doubt at the time the contract is made. But some an-

archists would jib at the element of enforceability. Armand is an example. He gave a good deal of thought to the question of contracts between anarchists, and his views form an interesting contrast with those of Baldelli (the best source for Armand's view is E. Armand: sa vie, sa pensée, son oeuvre, brought out by his friends after his death). This difference cannot, however, be seen as resulting from the distinction between individualism and a more social interpretation of anarchism, because the individualist Tucker also thought that contracts should be inforced.

The starting point for Armand is his opinion that association with another is a lesser evil, an expedient, which is not to be entered into lightly by individualists, even though their agreements will be free of the mental reservations, ulterior motives, fraud, dissimulation and sordid calculations of interest which characterize contracts in present-day society.

Contracts should be entered into only for a definite period or for a definite transaction, and they should leave the parties with full liberty of mind and action. In particular they should have no provision to constrain a party who no longer wishes to fulfil the terms to which he had agreed. Cancellability, that is to say, is to be a regular condition, though with notice in advance, for it is important not to embarrass or damage the other party.

There is to be no outside intervention, even in cases of the abrupt breaking of a contract. The nearest approach to intervention which Armand will allow is the calling in of an arbitrator if the parties are disputing between themselves or difficulties have arisen in carrying out the agreement. What point, we ask, can there be in making such contracts? Presumably the answer is that some things can only be done in association with others.

Moreover (and apart from the suggestion that an arbitrator may be called in), Armand envisages that people will belong to associations whose purpose is to indemnify them against injury suffered through non observance of contracts or through them being broken off without the agreed notice.

And, although no individualist would oppose himself to the breaking of a contract, he might object to it. As long as he is not categorically against the dissolution desired by the

other party, he will be acting consistently with his individualism if he demands that the other reflect on the matter, if he advances reasons against a breach and if he puts forward reasons for continuing with the agreement. Inconsitency is rather with the person who breaks a contract point-blank, without examination. An individualist should think carefully before breaking an understanding, failing to keep a promise or rupturing a compact made in good faith.

For Armand, then, as for Baldelli, the aim is to have the parties as clear as can be about their agreement. But where Baldelli looks to a third party to ensure this and to see to enforcement, Armand relies on the search for moral and intellectual consistency which characterizes the individualist, and he proposes a scheme of indemnity.

Baldelli's view of contract, allowing for the differences in social setting which he envisages, is essentially that of the classical lawyers, who insisted on freedom and sanctity. In effect, two stages are distinguished. One is characteriz by freedom: I am left to make up my mind whether I wish to agree with another and on what terms; he is equally free. The other stage is characterized by constraint: I can be made to live up to my agreement; and so can he. Baldelli's position is therefore much the same as that of Eltzbacher's law-affirming anarchists.

Armand's view of contract agrees with the other only in its insistence on freedom, and he extends this to the second stage, instead of limiting it to the first. Of course, he is as aware as they are of the injury that a person can suffer if an agreement which he has made (and which he has perhaps carried out, so far as his side of it goes) is broken off by the other party. But Armand will not compromise his anarchism by allowing for enforcement.

This discussion of contracts between anarchists has no claim to completeness. It does, however, show that some anarchists may fairly be seen as law-affirming, and that a distinction may fairly be drawn between them and no-law anarchists. Whether these points could be made outside the special field of contract is another question.

K. M

Pisacane

In the Italian anarchist movement, Pisacane merits a special place as a seminal figure. Born in Naples in 1818 of an aristocratic family with Bourbon tendencies, a graduate of the College of Nunziatella, he became a military engineer in his native town and built the first railway from Naples to Caserta. The ferment of nationalistic ideas accompanied by sporadic insurrections had such an impact on him that he abandomed the military career, committed himself to the struggle against the decadent Bourbon monarchy and, afterwards, embraced the cause of the revolution.

As a national revolutionary he fought on the side of the Lombards against the Austrians. To his disappointment, the insurgents were defeated and the Austrian army re-entered Milan. Also he participated in the uprising of Rome and this time as a military commander. But his military schemes were frustrated by Mazzini and Garibaldi. Had they been accepted, the Republic of Rome could have had a different fate.

Nationalism, foreign armies and the disintegration of feudalism created a revolutionary atmosphere. There was a ferment of ideas and conspiracies. One episode of interest, because it appeared to have had a connection with Pisacane's later expedition to Sapri, was that of Agesilao Milano.

The eighth of December 1856 was a holiday in Naples. King Ferdinand had been reviewing his troops in the midst of his staff when from the Third Army's Battalion a soldier fired at him. The king was wounded and the soldier arrested. Interrogation and torture did not produce any result and the soldier had not revealed the names of his accomplices. He was hanged on 15th of December the same year. Thus died Agesilao Milano. His death was a signal for an increase of revolutionary activities.

On the 17th of December the powder stores in the military establishment at the port of Naples exploded and seventeen soldiers were killed. On the 4th of January 1857 the frigate "Carlo III" which was going to Palermo carrying military supplies exploded with the loss of thirty eight persons. Who was behind all these acts of sabotage? The causes were unknown. But one thing was obvious: the growth of anti-Bourbon feelings. Pisacane rightly summurized the situation: "The flash of Ageselao Milano's bayonet has made more propaganda that all those theoreticians bent over books(1)." Theory is necessary but action speaks loudly. Pisacane decided fot the latter.

In 1857 Pisacane, together with Giovanni Nicotera and some twenty volunteers, on 25th of June sailed secretly from Genoa and arrived, after certain difficulties, in Sapri, a small place not far from Naples.

There, they decided to stage a revolution, thinking that the people were ready. They miscalculated the situation but, nevertheless, succeeded in liberating all political prisoners from the island of Ponza, and with revolutionary fervour tried to promote an insurrection among the people against the hateful Bourbon's tyranny. At the beginning it seemed their efforts would be successful. But betrayed, facing the ignorance of the peasants and the hostility of the populace, their arduous task finished in faillure. On the second of July, in the small village of Sanza, the final skirmish occurred between the remnants of the revolutionary army and the farocious peasants incited by the local priest to fight the bandits. Pisacane who refused to fire on the peasants was killed by the mob who were ignorant of his mission to liberate them from slavery and oppression. But his martyrdom was not in vain. It paved the way for the final triumph of the Italian cause at Marsala, and for the revolutionary movement in Italy, especially for anarchism.

History is more than often unkind to anarchists and libertarians. Pisacane does not escape this fate. Some writers ignore him completely. Benedetto Croce in his Storia della storiografia mentions only his name. Omodeo in Era del Risorgimento does not mention him at all. Others make of him a kind of pre-scientific socialist, as in the case of Mandolo in his Filosofia politica in Italia nel sec. XIX, in which he affirms that the doctrine of historical materialsim finds in Pisacane one of its most vigorous precursors. This view is not shared by Gramsci: "The relationship between Pisacane and the common people is not to be seen in socialist nor syndicalist espression but rather in a form of extreme jacobinism (2)."

Pisacane is not a socialist but "simply an example of nihilism of Russian origin (3)." His insurrectional activities are, furthermore, coloured by "extreme populist tendencies (4)". His political position approaches to that of "Russian revolutionaries, to that of narodniks (5)", while the origins of his ideas are the same as those of Bakunin. Otherwise, how can be explained Bakunin's success in Italy? "That, later on Bakunin had such a luck in the South and in the Romagna explains sufficiently what Pisacane had stood for in his time. .(6)."

It seems that nihilism and extreme populism if not interchangeable are, at least, similar terms. But what does Gramsci mean by each?

If by nihilism he means senseless terrorism and rejection of all human values then the term nihilist cannot be applied to Pesacane. On the other hand, if he identifies it with left wing adventurism then to the Sapri affair can be imputed a kind of adventurism. If both meaninga are contrary to Gramsci's way of thinking, then Pisacane remains a nihilist in the original sense. "A nihilist, in principle, is neither a terrorist nor a man who denies all human values; he rebels against conventions only, he appeals to an absolute sincerity in all social relationships and repudiates all class and sexual privileges(7)." That some nihilist transcended their pure faith and became revolutionaries or terrorists is another matter. Somehow, it seems that Gramsci opts for the first meaning, otherwise, the reference to extreme populism would be incongruous.

Extreme populism is in line with Narodnia Volia. At the 1879 congress the populists split into two factions: Narodnia Volia and

Tcherni Perediel (respectively The Will of the People and The Parceling out of the land). Narodnia Volia endorsed terrorism as a means to destroy Tsarist absolutism and, thereafter, to establish socialism. Its policy reflected long years of frustration and failures by the intelligentsia to reach the peasants and to arouse their revolutionary awareness. If Pisacane had to choose between the two positions, without doubt he would prefer, that of Tcherno Peredieltsy to that of Narodnia Volia, because the former is more compatible with his own beliefs. In this light his Sapri venture could be interpreted as a conscious act to arouse the peasants' awareness so that they could sees who their enemies were and thus performed the act of their own liberation. Hence, if there is any similarity between him and the populists, it would be the populism of the Tcherno peredieltsy.

Tcherno-peredieltsy are linear descendents from the early populists. Their reference to the "obtchina" as a fondamental unit of agrarian socialism, their concept of federalism and their distrust of the state would be nearer to the heart of Pisacane than any concept of terrorism. A comparison between some of the populist writings and those of Pisacane on the subject will prove the point I am to make:

V. Vorontsov writes: "We are happy to have had preserved until now the humanitarian features in the character and the institutions; to have had preserved community spirit, the "artel", the "obtchina", which other people have lost long time ago and which they have to reconquer.(8)." On the other hand Pisacane, comparing France to Italy, argues that the spirit of the French communes has been spent because of its unification, "while in Italy it is latent but vigorous and ready to develop(9)." According to Tchernychevsky all communes have to federate: 'each region has to be composed of agrarian communities where all members have the same rights (10)." For Pisacane, after the collapse of the bourgeois edifice will begin "...the era of the free association (11)."

It appears that Gramsci deduces nihilism or extreme populism from his negative definition of Jacobinism "...in this definition, destructive elements arising from the hate of opponents and enemies had prevailled ...prevailled the sectarian element, the conventicles of small groups, the unrestrained individualism (12)."

One may argue about the merits or the faults of such a definition but, in the historico-social context, positive Jacobinism "threatened with death the first attempts of the French workers to associate themselves into trade guilds, and declared that the National Convention could not tolerate a "state within the State' (13)."

Neither definition suits Pisacane, although if one includes in Jacobinism a dedicated revolutionary minority, Pisacane may be guilty of it to some extent. But his attitude to hierarchy definitely denies him a place in a Jacobin or Leninist scheme: 'As heirarchy among individuals is absurd, so it is among the communes (14).' Therefore, Gramsci's assumption of Pisacanian Jacobinism is groundless.

Pisacane's sin is that he has failed to perceive the validity of a political party as the only way of materializing the ideas of the Risorgimento. Thus his socialism is impractical "...there is no party which

can translate them (the ideas) into a concrete and organizational activity (15). Also his emphasis in not on the industrial proletariat "Since the revolutionary proletariat is not the industrial proletariat' therefore, the difference between Pisacane and the scientific socialism is really profound.(16)."

Nonetheless, Pisacane invariably represents the libertarian tendency in the Risorgimento. He "was the first Italian socialist to break with the assumption that French Jacobinism and Babeufism were the only legitimate well-spring of socialist ideology(17)."

PISACANE'S ANARCHISM

Pisacane's writings which have reached us are limited in La guerra combattuta in Italia negli anni 1848-49, four volumes of Saggi storici, politici, militari sull'Italia and Testamento Politico.

In them are scattered thoughts of social criticism and constractive propositions. However, it is assumed that a more comprehensive libertarian theory has been expressed in his lost works presumably burnt by Nicottera's sister (18). Thus, to search for an organic anarchist theory in his writings ends in disappointment but the seeds of it are there. One has but to look at the various issues tackled by him: the army political power, the revolution, federalism etc.

The army.

Pisacane argues that the socio-political function of standing armies is counter-revolutionary and in flagrant contradiction to socialist principles. The army is and remains an institution of oppression and never a weapon of revolutionary changes. To believe in the opposite is to nourish an illusion about the army unless by revolutionary changes is understood the process of substituting one government by another

The revolutionary army is separated from the people as is the conventional army. Any separation of the army from the people, of the revolution from the people results in dictatorship a new oligarchy and oppression. This changes the people's oppressors rather than achieving their emancipation Pisacane supports the assertion of armed people Unless people are armed freedom, emancipation socialism and the social revolution so dear to various revolutionaries will never be attained Any tendency then to disarm the people and to create a revolutionary army as a body above the people in the name of socialism or any radical change, is not only a counter-revolutionary act but a defeat of the revolution itself. In a more lucid way history verified this assumption during the Russian Revolution The Bolshevik government disarmed the Petrograd proletariat just before the Kronstadt uprising. This was the final stroke to all revolutionary activities and the beginning of the reaction the terror and the return to slavery "To separate a class of citizens from society and to make them soldiers while the rest having confidence in them goes to sleep, is like creating a material force ready to turn against the society the arms which that society has entrusted to it(19).

Defence cannot be delegated The army being separated from the

people and being above the rest develops a logic of its own and the power which belonged to the people originally is usurped by it The army, as a body, tends towards permanency and perpetuation of its own interests Its existence is at the expense of the rest of the society. Therefore, it is logical that instead of defending society, the army threatens it. At any moment it is ready to undermine its freedom ". Free people" do not need "a permanent army to protect their freedom"(20).

Apart from being a threat to social and human freedom, the army is based on individual sacrifice. "A soldier has to renounce his individual existence and, like a priest separate himself completely from the people (21)." The success of an army depends on dehumanization and alienation of the individual, to the extent to which his consciousness is deadened and to the degree to which he is regimented and disciplined. The individual ought to lose his identity, to forsake his individuality, to become a manoeuvrable entity, a part of the spectacle and a vehicle of oppression and tyranny. Otherwise his military virtues are questionable. He may realize that his personal interests are incompatible with him being cannon-fodder for others. He may rebel and refuse to shoot at his sisters and brothers, at the citizens. If a soldier "refuses to be an executioner"-this in itself will be "sufficient to break the powerful means of action of tyranny(22)."

Psychologically the sado-masochistic structure of the army provides an asylum for all aggressive authoritarian and power hungry individuals. The violent social elements find in the army a vast scope for expression of their violence "To youth of violent characters, the army guarantees the impunity of this defects permiting it to be exercise against defenceless citizens(23) " In the army killing is built into a virtue.

While the standing army is a menace to freedom its centralization is pernicious to the Revolution. In a state of revolution, for the revolution to be successful the army and the people cannot be divided, they are one and the same thing. The army "has to be fused with the people not managed by any power above the people (24)." Any revolutionaries who claim to be above the people even if they insist that their interests and those of the people are identical, are acting against the interests of the people and against the liberation of the individual.

Decentralization of revolutionary defence and refusal to delegate it, the rejection of army stratification, the arms in the hands of the people are, from Pisacane's point of view the prerequisites for a successful revolution where neither freedom nor the individual will be sacrificed. Thus, only people in arms can assure its own liberation not a revolutionary army

Political power.

If the origins of political power are debatable, its structure rarely is. In practical terms first and foremost, it is an expression of hierarchies: hierarchy of values of intelligence and of occupation. In psychological terms it corresponds to sado-masochism domination and submission. At a social level this is referred to as a master-slave relationship one commands-the other obeys and follows. Religion is the best example In every religious system is mirrored the dependancy of the individual on a higher

power while the real essence of man is sacrificed to an illusion. Politics pertains to religion or, better else, is a religious manifestation. It has its own saints - the immortalized political heroes; its own martyrs - all fallen in the battles; its altar-the fatherland and the motherland. Like in religions, the citizen is subservient and instrumental to politics. Thus fallen in the battles: its altar- the fatherland and the motherland. Like in religions the citizen is subservient and instrumental to politics Thus, an attack on religion is, also, an attack on political power. This had led Pisacane to view the destruction of religion and consequently, political power, as a necessary step to a free society.

God, especially the christian one is nothing but a concept of a universal dictator: jealous, intolerant and bigotted, condemning everything contrary to his power, thinking and norms. Everyone has to be subordi-nated to the whims of this dictator. He has acquired his power by elim-
inating his rivals. In place of polytheism he has established the reign of monotheism.

At first God, according to Pisacane, was a philosophical principle, not a symbol of faith. He was the principle of eternal justice equal for all human beings and human dignity. But in the state of decadence, people had lost heir human dignity and, as a consequence, they could not grasp this principle as propounded by philosophers. Instead, to God (the princi-ple of eternal and equal justice to all men) were ascribed characteristics reflecting personal, social and human features, fears, hopes and condi-tions. People created God according to their own image. In him they pro-jected their own servility and the indifference to their own destiny. They-borrowed" The cult of how to adore (this God), the mysteries, the rit-uals... from the orientals (25)" -from, the slaves. So God became a per-son to vindicate the oppressed and to govern human affairs. The degra-dation and lack of dignity down here on the earth, were projected as dignity and blissfulness up there in heaven. To God were attributed per-
manency and immortality. Immortality, contrary to human nature, was contrived by sick and weak people whose spirit had already been dead. Thus God, an atheistic assumption, became a religious symbol for the slaves.

Religion mirrors the desires and the hopes of the humble, the passive, docile and subservient person -the slave. It is founded on human weakness and dependence without which it cannot exist. "...the religion is a senti-ment of weakness which makes us creators and adorators of superhuman powers (26)."

If religion is an effect of ignorance, of fear and dependence, then, it follows, the process of liberation and human independence is the negation of it. A free, socialist society cannot be anything but atheistic. .the regenerated society has to indubitably be irreligious (27)."

This is a severe indictment of modern socialism which, despite its atheistic terminology, in reality, remains a religious concept. It preserves the cult of personality which is the very essence of religion. It has its saints and martyrs. Its existence is based on symbols-chimera of our imagination. Sócialism as a movemnt and principle of justice, equality and human dignity is empty of content. What remains is its reli-gious skeleton and its ideological make up.

In a socialist society, organically conceived in its theoretical inception, human beings are not spectators but participators. As soon as they stop participating, socialism and the revolution are doomed. "As soon as a citizen, from a participator becomes a spectator, the revolutionary impetus is spent (28)." and eventually the revolution dies and with it socialism too, as has been the case in the socialist countries.

Once the similarity between religion and politics is established and the view, that neither of them can exist without authority, is confirmed, it will be easy to guess Pisacane's relation to political power. Like religion, political power is based on authority and hierarchy. It accepts the individual as a spectator which, in political terms, means delegation of individual sovereignty and its subservience to higher power. It tends towards the pyramidal structure, towards centralism.

Pisacane dismisses the delegation of sovereignty as an absurdity. Sovereignty "resides in the whole nation and cannot be legitimately represented by a part of it (29)." This is true, if and only if, the nation is an organic whole. In an organic body no part can represent another part but they all fulfil specific functions. No function can be represented. For example if the heart fails the brain can not represent it. To claim otherwise, is an empirical absurdity. The nation is not an organic whole, therefore, it may be argued, the delegation of sovereignty is possible. Somehow, here, sovereignty is confused with power. While the former cannot be delegated the latter can. So starting from false premisses Pisacane comes to the right conclusion.

People who forsake their responsibility, their power to decide, their thinking and their direct participation in everyday socio-political activities, notwithstanding all rationalizations, are not sovereign but slaves who imagine themselves sovereign. Pisacane put it in the right perspective. They resemble a person "who to run better, ties his legs and his arms (30)." Slaves have no sovereignty!

Intrinsically, political power means authority and hierarchy. As such it is contrary to socialism, if socialism stands for equality and liberty. For socialism to materialize and to become a real social force, political power will have to disappear Unless "The pyramid -God, king, the best people and the common people (31)"-is abolished socialism will be a farce and an illusion.

The Revolution.

The function of a revolution is the destruction of socio-political pyramidal structures and abolition of all delegation of functions. The revolution is a levelling force Any revolution that tends to postpone the levelling process to the end of history or to any future date, aborts in reaction. To claim that the purpose of a revolution is to change one government for another, is to fail to grasp the meaning of the revolution as a socialist force.

Government, apart from being a hierarchy, is also delegation of functions. Once it is established, people and revolutionaries become dysfunctional; they are no longer an operative force. Pisacane warned the Italian revolutionaries of the danger of having faith in the government:

If the Italian revolutionaries rely on the integrity of the rulers to let people organize themselves in their own way if such puerility preoccupies them and, thus, the revolution is reduced to the choice of one man and the revolutionary propaganda to a base struggle between the partisans of this or that individual, then the fate of the country will be miserable. (32)

It may be added: the outcome of the revolution will be miserable. A change of government is not a revolutionary change but a change of actors and privileges. "The origin of government was the heroic domination of the strong over the weak... government can be defined as an obstacle to the development of natural laws, as a maintenance of privileges (33)." It is a deception to believe in a government as a weapon of revolutionary changes and as a liberatory force.

The Social Revolution, as libertarian socialists understood it, meant eradication of prejudices and privileges; disappearance of leaders and elitists, end to the socio-political structures that had reproduced them. It means: the initiative back to the people. Unless people recognize, defend and act in their own interest, the revolution will be a failure. Pisacane stated this clearly in one of his letters:

> Whoever I am, I am one who ardently desire that the people understand their own force and their own rights; that they make the revolution for their own sake and not for the others; that this revolution be neither for a change of ministers nor to convoke Parliament where a lot is said and nothing is done, but to make disappear from society the idle rich and the poor who lack bread, to make every citizen enjoy the fruits of his own labour subjecting himself to the others; that nobody be idle in rich palaces living on the sweating of the poor people's work. (34)

Federalism.

If centralism is a curse, the government -domination of man by man and the standing army- a weapon of oppression, then socialism cannot be organized on such models. "Society constituted in the real and necessary relationships, excludes every idea of government (35)." The only plausible form of a socialist organization is federalism.

Thus Pisacane adopted Proudhon's idea on government (35). Nonetheless he approached federalism from a different angle. Proudhon by observing the fruits of French unity, its authoritarianism asserted in centralism, bureaucracy and oppression, deduced, by negation, federalism as a libertarian solution to socio-political problems. Pisacane, seeing Italy dismembered into small states, mostly dominated by foreigners, came to hypothesize national unity as a necessary step to eventual feder-alism. They differed in methods but were agreed on finalities. It is, therefore unfair, as R. Rocker does, to accuse Pisacane of cherishing an illusion.

> Though Pisacane might cherish the illusion that a genuine nation could harbour in its bosom no

> privileged classes orders or castes. experience has thus far always shown us that the national state is constantly busied in setting up new privileges and in dividing the people into castes and orders. because its very existence is based on this division (37).

The above statement falsifies Pisacane's position. While it is true to say that he has been mistaken for assuming the nation to be an organic being. it is. nevertheless. wrong to infer that he has cherished an illusion. He has been aware of the inherent danger in the Italian unity. Consequently he considers national unity inseparable from the social revolution. Without this. socialism will remain a vain hope. It is exactly at this point that he introduces the free association as a necessity to a new regenerated Italy.' Otherwise. Italy will move to a new kind of despotic militarism. "Inevitably. the future is just established: either free association or military despotism (38)."

Now. if within the boundary of a state. relationships are organized along the line of free associations then there will be no privileges, castes and classes. If. on the other side. military despotism becomes the order of the day. then no significan changes will occur. "In my opinion the House of Savoy's or the House of Austria's domination is precisely the same thing (39)."

While Proudhon's prediction of a united Italy happens to be empirically and historically correct,

> What is this unity of the nation in reality? It is the merging of the separate folk-groups in which men live. and which differ from one another. into the abstract idea of a nation. in which no one breathes. and no one is acquainted with another To govern twenty-six million people who have been robbed of all dominion over themselves calls for a gigantic machine· then to set this machine in motion. a monstrous bureaucracy a legion of officials. To protect it from within and without. there is required a standing army. officers. soldiers. mercenaries: these will from now on represent the nation(40)

Pisacane's 'either or' proposition makes him also correct Either the free association as a social operative force or Italian unity. in a socialist libertarian sense. is a delusion

If for Proudhon "The freedom of each finding in the freedom of others no longer a limit but a support. The freest man is the one who has the most relations with his fellow men (41). ' for Pisacane, sacrificing freedom for the sake of an association or unity is a preposterous claim· 'Freedom does not admit any kind of restrictions (42)

Pisacane's federalism is not a federation of states but of communes within a state. Therefore any criticism of Italian unity as a goal, of Italy one and indivisible - a Mazzinian concept: he regards as unfair. Those who believe that the Italian problem of liberation and socialism is solved by dividing Italy into small states and then uniting them on the premiss

of external policy, are far from solving the problem. A small state is not less tyrannical and coercive than a big state because of the virtue of being a state, of having a government. "The tyranny of a government in a small state is not different from that which oppresses a big state. Often, it is worse and more awful because it is more difficult to escape its claws.(43)."

But if a state is tyrannical, its size comes to be irrelevant. Or, perhaps, the opposite to his view is true: the bigger the state the worse the oppression. Why then Italian unity? For Pisacane unity, revolution and socialism are inseparable, and unity seems to appear as a necessary step towards the free anarchist society. So, if his terminology here looks confused, his goals are not. "...we approximate to the only just and secure form of government: Proudhon's Anarchy (44)." Once this state of affairs is achieved, society will take its natural course which is re-affirmation of libertarian socialism: Liberty in equality and Equality in liberty. "The socialism of which I talk can be defined in two words: freedom and association (45)."

His martyrdom.

"Ideas came from facts and not the latter from the former (46)." Was his sacrifice necessary for promoting ideas of revolutionary awareness and socialism among the masses? Or was it merely an adventurous act of an idealist trying to impose upon reality his own prejudices? Answers vary to these questions. For some he would be an adventurer, a romantic, a martyr, for others -an idealist, who had failed to recognize that the objective conditions were far from ripe to warrant such a sacrifice. His action, they would argue, had been doomed from the beginning. True, if judged from the facts. But post-mortem solutions often reflect the weakness and the preconceived ideas of the analyst. As for Pisacane, his approach was "If I don't succeed, I profoundly despise this ignoble and vulgar man who condemns me; if I succeed, I will very little appreciate his applause (47)."

The death and sacrifice of martyrs neither occur in a vacuume nor come as a surprise. It is the social climate, the ferment of ideas, the succession of events that produce them. In Pisacane's case, the struggle against Austria, the rise and the defeat of the Republic of Rome, generated currents and counter-currents, conjectures and counter-conjectures which influenced, determined and prepared his martyrdom. So, one may argue, the defeat of the Republic of Rome, the tragic death of Pisacane and many other events were the facts leading to the political unity of Italy. Unfortunately this was to be at the expense of the most radical trends of the Risorgimento and at the expense of the great Italian patriot, at the time, Mazzini.

Pisacane or Mazzini and Garibaldi.

While Pisacane was searching for an anarchist solution to Italian unity, Mazzini and Garibaldi were thinking in narrow nationalistic terms. So narrow, that once Italian unity was achieved, their mission came to an end.

The unification of Italy had materialized. Garibaldi's dream became a reality, but a reality which marked the beginning of his eclipse. Lim-

iting his operation to a single scope he lacked an adequate socia. theory of rebellion which would go beyond national liberation and lead to social revolution. Hence history transcended him he but could not understand it. He became a monument and a glory, petrified and useless.

Mazzini was also transcended by the events. He was rich with ideas. His influence among the English working class was quite renowned. He could be credited with preparing the ground for the foundation of the First International. But his work, directly or indirectly, in the International, was short lived because he had become a staunch defender of the bourgeoisie and an enemy of socialism. And yet his republic had to be established.

In the meantime, he directed all his energies against socialism. He thus expressed his political frustration in violent attacks against socialism and especially against the Commune of Paris. But he watched helplessly the dynamic Italian monarchy taking the initiative in 1859 and, instead of a republic, establishing a monarchic government, which he hated and wanted to destroy.

In short, in the early seventies, the movement which Mazzini and Garibaldi had started and worked upon was in eclipse. Malatesta put it in this way:

> Mazzini and Garibaldi continued to be idolized by most advance youth who would have liked to have them as their leaders and helpers but whom they found difficult to follow. Mazzini, when faced with the burst of new tendencies would become more rigid in his theological political dogmatism and would excommunicate anyone who has not believed in God. As to Garibaldi, who wanted to persuade himself and the others, to be always at the head of progress, had been stating and denying what was stated, and, basically, had understood nothing.
>
> From here a moral and intellectual uneasiness, which added to uncertainty and political impotence, which kept agitated and dissatisfied the best of the Italian youth (48).

Despite all, in the 1860's they remained father figures and, as such, an obstacle to a more radical orientation among the revolutionary youth. The youth of the Risorgimento found itself in a difficult dilemma: it had to choose between a national-liberationist revolutionary position and a socialist alternative that is, either Mazzini and Garibaldi or Pisacane.

Pisacane represented a kind of revolt, which did not tolerate sanctions, institutions, thrones and monuments, but eliminated and transcended them. To it corresponded a kind of revolutionary struggle which aimed at destroying idols, icons, saints, sinners, mothers and fathers, and establishing a social order on equality and co-operation

On the other side, Mazzini and Garibaldi remained conventional symbols of rebellion. They stood for one or other form of authority. Their revolutionary perceptions did not transcend a governmental social order To make the revolution as envisaged by them was to sub-

stitute one government for another, which was the graveyard of the revolution they desired.

A revolution whose energies are channelled to power building is already on its way to a counter revolution. Such a revolution is often a success, but its success is its failure. In pragmatic terms, the revolutionaries of yesterday turn in no time into tyrants while the revolution is reduced to symbols and the rebellious spirit of the masses to rituals. In such a state of affairs the revolutionary ethos breaks down, unleashing the appalling violence epitomized in the sentence: The revolution devours its own children. In fact, it is authority (the fathers) which devours the children of the revolution.

To side with Pisacane is to side with the Social Revolution. It is to aim at defeating and eliminating the fathers as a social category. After all, every rebellion is against authority, against the father as an image of authority. For a revolution to materialize, the fathers' Image and its psychological and socio-political paraphernalia have to be destroyed without vestiges. Otherwise, like mythological phoenix, they will be resurrected from the ashes. An anti-authoritarian revolution implies a clear perception of the revolution as a force of liberation and an uncompromising attitude towards the fathers. Any ambivalence in relation to the role of the fathers condemns the children to eventual doom. This has been their fate until now. Fathers after fathers are dethroned but new ones are taking their places. Slavish manners, attitudes and behaviour endure and the bastions of authority remain untouched. For a revolution to triumph not only the fathers have to be destroyed but the children have to abolish themselves as a social category too. Otherwise they always will demand a father figure and their sacrifice will be a futile gesture.

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III.

DIALECTIC METHOD.

But is it true that humanity ignored either dialectics or the idea of surplus value? Vico, Volney, and the Encyclopedists, Augustin, Thierry, Buckle, A. Blanqui, Quetelet, and so many others,—have not they had some idea of the influence of economic factors on the history of humanity? Did not T. Rogers write his great work, "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," and as a summary his volume, "Economic Interpretation of History"? And if truths, investigated by independent men of the science of thinkers, who aspire neither to a dictatorship nor to papacy, really existed before the coming of Marx and Engels upon the scene, then how shall we qualify the authors of these quotations? All these Bebels, Bernsteins, Kautskys, Plekhanoffs, Engels, etc., did they write the passages quoted in simple ignorance, or under the influence of motives completely foreign to scientific research?

From the preceding quotations we know that humanity has to thank Marx and Engels for:

1. The application of dialectics to sociological research;

2. The discovery of surplus value ignored by science before them;

3. The materialistic explanation of history;

4. And to crown the edifice, the law of the concentration of capital, "The expropriation of the greater number of capitalists by the few," (See "Capital," p. 342).

I must begin by apologizing to the workers, especially the International Socialists, for my voluntary and non-attractive excursion into the domain of legends and so-called "scientific pretensions." But we cannot shirk this task. When in the name of scientific Socialism we hear men preach the adoration of the all-powerful State, authority, order, discipline, subordination, and other qualities honored in barracks; when we see men ridicule the idea of emancipation, deliverance, and solidarity as a utopia, and every exponent of humanitarian and Socialist ideas is taxed with ignorance, we are compelled to examine the matter thoroly and to see where truth lies.

Science, that great science of Naturalism with its system of Evolution,

of Transformism, and monistic Materialism so repugnant to Engels,* was created and developed by the inductive method, and all great scientific minds ignored and even condemned dialectics. I defy Social Democrats to name a single man of science in our century, who has made use of dialectics in his scientific researches, unless it be by German metaphysics.

Did Lamarck, Geoffrey Saint-Hilaire, Lyell, Darwin, Häckel, Helmholtz, Huxley, and others, elaborate the great evolutionist philosophy by means of the dialectic method? Did Quetelet and J. S. Mill, Morgan and Buckle, Maine and Tylor, H. Spencer, Guyau and Bain, generalize sociology, logic, ethics, and modern philosophy, otherwise than by induction? Whoever knows a little of the history of the development of modern science must recognize that all great minds have repudiated the dialectical method. Even the German metaphysicians are not so blindly in favor of this "art to chat without restraint." For instance, Dr. F. Ueberweg ("System of Logic") says: "Zenon, the Eleatic, was the first to find in its strict form the art of managing philosophical dialog, especially the art of indirect proof. Hence. Aristotle calls him the founder of dialectic" (p. 22, § 11). Another, the greatest authority for Marx and Engels, Hegel himself, the founder of the "universal metaphysical empire," the greatest master of dialectics, in his "Logic," speaking of the understanding, says: "In point of form, logical doctrine . . . three sides: the abstract side or that of understanding; the dialectical, or that of negative reason: the speculative, or that of positive reason. These three sides do not make three parts of logic, but are stages or moments in every logical entity (p. 143). Dialectic, as seen in its application to philosophical theories . . . becomes scepticism. Often indeed there is nothing more than a subjective seesaw of arguments pro and con, where the absence of sterling thought is disguised by subtlety" (p. 147, G. Hegel, "Logic," translation by W. Wallace, second ed., 1892).

"The sophists elaborated the dialectic art, but often misapplied it to the purposes of subjective caprice" (Ueberweg, p. 25, § 12).

"The Greeks, subtle disputers, undertook those thorny controversies in which dialectical ability takes the place of the power to reason" (Bonald). So speak the metaphysicians on their own and favored "philosophical dialog," "negative reason, scepticism, seesaw of arguments pro and con, art of sophists." Yet F. Engels teaches poor German workers that this is the true scientific method. Let us see of what opinion on this subject are the honest people of inductive science and synthetic philosophy.

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* In his pamphlet, "Ludwig Feuerbach," he calls the materialism of natural sciences "vulgar" in opposition to his own.

"The dialectic method of generalization of these philosophers [metaphysicians]," says Professor W. Wundt, "on which they have based the infallibility of their doctrines, appears to us like an artificial and repulsive envelope that distracts all ideas." As regards Hegel and his metaphysics, Mr. Wundt says: "Hegel is a true philosopher of the Restoration. He is convinced that the individual must serve . . . the State, with perfect submission to a unique will. In an absolute form, he glorifies bureaucratic Constitutionalism. The general idea of his philosophy of history is subordinate to, and serves at the same time to uphold the philosophic tendencies of the epoch of the Restoration."*

No more favorable to the metaphysical method is the opinion of H. T. Buckle: "Now," says he, "the first remark to make on this is, that the metaphysical method is one by which no discovery has ever yet been made in any branch of knowledge (p. 146). . . . Investigating the nature of the human mind according to the metaphysical scheme, there are two methods of proceeding, both of which are equally obvious, and yet both of which lead to entirely different results. According to the first method, the inquirer begins by examining his sensations. According to the other method, he begins by examining his ideas (p. 147). But in metaphysics it will invariably be found, that if two men of equal ability employ different methods in the study of the mind, the conclusions which they obtain will also be different." ("History of Civilization in England," Vol. I., p. 140.)

Let us also remember here the immortal definition of metaphysics made by Voltaire: "When two philosophers are discussing without understanding each other, they create metaphysics; when they no longer understand themselves, they create high-metaphysics." ("Quand deux philosophes discutent sans se comprendre, ils font de la métaphysique; quand ils ne se comprennent plus, ils font de la haute métaphysique.")

Another authority, a true glory of Germany and of humanity, Goethe, was not favorable to the method so dear to Engels and his disciples. (See Eckermann's "Conversations," third part.) Goethe's scientific mind evidently could not admire the famous method by which reasons for and against are proved with equal ease. He understood that there was but one method of research, the scientific—inductive—method. A hypothesis is made, it is verified by induction, and becomes a theory, when the rational cause of the relations established by induction has been demonstrated by deduction. He saw that this dialectical method is not new. Engels himself says somewhere that Descartes and Spinoza, Rousseau and Diderot, and Hegel's contemporary, Charles Fourier,

* W. Wundt, "Relation of the Philosophy of Our Century and of Life," lecture delivered at the University of Leipsic, 1889 (we quote from the Russian translation).

made admirable use of it. All these philosophers, especially the last, sacrificed their work for researches in the domain of social philosophy and Socialism. How is it, then, that Marx and Engels and the German workman, Dietzgen, have been obliged to discover it over again? And did it happen that the same dialectics rendered Descartes, Spinoza, and Hegel metaphysicians; Rousseau, Diderot, and Fourier utopians, and only Marx and Engels scientific? Let the deputies, philosophers, and other publicists of Socialism, explain it to us ignorants.

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PAGES OF SOCIALIST HISTORY.

IV.

SURPLUS VALUE AND UTOPIANISM.

Armed with a dialectical method rejected by science, these pupils of the reactionary and metaphysical school of Hegel have discovered surplus value.

What is surplus value?

"It was," says Engels, "demonstrated to us (by Marx) that the fundamental form of capitalistic production and exploitation of the worker is the appropriation of unpaid work; that is to say, the worker receives less for his work than the master receives in selling the product." Let us see if it is true that Socialists, and political economy, before the appearance of "Capital," in 1867, were unaware that the wealth of the bourgeoisie is due to unremunerated work.

Already in the last century we find exact definitions of the share retained by the master from the worker's wage.

"The physiocrats," says H. Denis ("History of Socialist Systems"), "pointed out very clearly the share kept by the employer, the owner, and all exploiters. They called it, as did Adam Smith, the *net product*. This great founder of political economy demonstrates incomparably better than Marx that *all wealth is produced by labor*, and he has never approved, from the moral point of view, that the producer be deprived of his net product."

At the beginning of this century, S. de Sismondi, in his celebrated work, "New Principles of Political Economy," demonstrated that, if the cost of production is deducted from the exchange value of a product, there remains a surplus appropriated by the capitalist. This surplus of work, Sismondi calls *extra value*. Translated into German, it would be the Mehrwerth of Marx, that is to say the surplus value of the French text of "Capital." Sismondi's work appeared in 1819, that is to say a year before Engels's birth. Sismondi, altho a man of advanced and liberal opinions, was not a Socialist, and this definition of surplus value was made by him as a result of purely scientific researches.

But how superior was the conception of surplus value and of the true cause of the people's misery by Socialists of Sismondi's time! And especially by Robert Owen and his friend William Thompson. . . . The humbugs of scientific Socialism repeat after Engels that Robert Owen was a utopian, a sort of inspired dreamer. It is completely false. First of all, in Thomas More himself, that classical utopian and author of

"Utopia," there is nothing fantastic. One of the most remarkable men of his time, an intimate friend of Erasmus of Rotterdam, a man of positive genius, T. More was the first to indicate that in a society based on the principle of exploitation and private property, there is hardly a fifth of the population that works usefully, and that if humanity knew how to organize itself on the principle of solidarity, a six-hour working day would be more than sufficient to create well-being and abundance. Men of good faith have long since recognized that his work is the first monument of modern Socialism.

Less of dreamer, if it is possible, was Robert Owen (1771-1858), founder of the Socialism of the worker's movement of our century. He was the first to conceive that, as human knowledge is the result of impressions produced on the nerves by exterior surroundings,* and as there are no innate or preconceived ideas, man's character must also be the result of the influences of the surroundings, and especially the social conditions in which the individual is born and bred.

"Therefore," he says, "it is not the man who is responsible, but society and exterior conditions. The present social system must be changed to alleviate the sufferings of humanity." And during his long life he worked at the change of economic conditions. In his factory at New Lanark, his workmen led an existence which, even in our own times, would be considered happy. He founded the first Kindergarten, and helped Bell and Lancaster in their earliest endeavors, as he did Fulton with his steamer. He called the attention and woke the compassion of Ricardo, of Bentham, and many others, with reference to the slavery of children and women in the factories, and brought about, in 1802, the earliest labor legislation. In 1815, when workmen toiled fourteen, sixteen, and eighteen hours a day, he organized a ten-hour committee, which, aided by men of feeling like Oastler, Lord Ashley, and others, ended by succeeding, in 1847, in getting a vote for a ten-hour day. (This law is not yet voted in Germany, where scientific Socialism flourishes.)

Atheist, Communist, and Federalist, Robert Owen propagated the idea that society *itself* must organize production, consumption, and integral education. It was he who, in 1836, founded the Society of all Classes and all Nations (that forerunner of the International) in the meetings of which the word Socialism (but not "scientific") was made use of for the first time. As a means of propaganda he also organized cooperative societies and free exchange markets with labor checks. "The source of wealth is labor," he said to workers, December 5, 1833, "and

* Locke, Condillac, the Encyclopedists, Bichat, Magendie, Claude Bernard, and others.

wealth will remain in the workers' possession when they shall come to a mutual understanding for the purpose." He displayed a superhuman activity in order to create that understanding, especially in trade unions. In 1833, he demanded "eight hours work and the fixing of a minimum wage." The same year he organized the General Union of the Productive Classes. In a few weeks the membership went up to 500,000, among whom there were rural workers and groups of women. This allowed him in 1834 to create the federation of all trades, called Grand National Trade Union. And truly great was the movement. "The extension of the trade unionist movement in 1830 and 1834, as far as we know, surpassed even the movement of 1871-75."*

This organizer, this man incomparable in modesty, in devotion to the emancipation of the disinherited, this positive mind, they try to pass off as a dreamer!—and who has acted thus? Men who call themselves Socialists, who repeat a few formulæ, a few isolated demands, insignificant fragments of his broad Socialist conceptions, of his noble career as an agitator.

Another "utopian" known to Marx, an "Owenist," W. Thompson, in his work, "Social Science, Inquiry, etc.," (1824) developed surplus value in a striking manner. After having proved that "wealth is created by the worker's labor" (pp. 3-4), he asks, why not give him the whole produce of his labor, without any of these deductions?" (p. 32). Because, he answers, under the form of "rent," profit, etc., his "surplus is taken from him." Then he puts the question: "Is the abstraction voluntary, or is it forced." "Brute force," he answers, "has always been used to extort, by means of terror, a reluctant produce from the arms of wretchedness." All history proclaims this truth, and it might be illustrated from thousands of pages. The same reason that would justify the taking away of a portion of the produce of labor without the laborer's consent, would justify the taking of any other portion (pp. 34-35). "Without force can be no monopoly" (p. 106). As long as a class of mere capitalists exists, society must remain in a diseased state" (p. 449). In his work, "Labor Rewarded" (1826), Thompson enumerates different proposed reforms, and says they are all palliatives, including the assurance of a pension for workers; even trade unionism, according to him, is not a solution of the social problem. As a friend and disciple of Owen, he preaches autonomous Communism. One can see his fundamental idea from his advocacy of "free labor, entire use of its products [for the producers] and voluntary exchange" (p. 253).

It was not very difficult to discover surplus value in 1845, when it

* S. Webb, "History of Trades Unionism," 1894, p. 314.

had been so clearly demonstrated by Thompson in 1824, especially when Thompson's work was known and quoted by Marx in "Capital." In that fashion, indeed, I will u to discover the law of gravitation or the periodic law of chemistry, or the mechanical equivalent of heat. And then, always imitating Marx and Engels, I shall claim my right to universal dictatorship. As long as Charcot or Maudsley do not invite me to exercise my dictatorship in Charenton or Bethlehem!

To conclude, I must quote Proudhon's opinion, who is treated by Marx and his very scientific disciples as an ignorant sophist. So much the worse for Marx, if this "ignoramus" himself formulated in 1845, with his habitual frankness, "the excess" or surplus value of production. In his "Economic Contradictions" we read: "In economic science, we repeat, according to Adam Smith, the point of view from which all values are compared—is labor (p. 86). In the sense of political economy, the principle that all work leaves a surplus is no other than the consecration of the constitutional right to rob our neighbor, which we all have acquired by the Revolution" (page 91).

Proudhon is right when he says that, in reality, it is the right to rob our neighbor; for better value, for extra value, labor excess, surplus, Mehrwerth, signify the same thing: the part of the value of the product of work appropriated by the bourgeoisie. Whatev name is given to that part of value which is the source of capitalistic accumulation, its seizure is always in reality a theft. All the wisdom, all pretended laws of capitalism, are summed up as follows:

1. To buy the strength and skill of the workers below their value;
2. To buy produce at the lowest possible price from the producer;
3. To resell the same produce to the same producer at the highest possible price.

For a long time, the people have understood the nature of Commerce and Capitalism; for, in the days of antiquity, the wise men of Greece chose Mercury, the god of thieves, as patron of Commerce.

These two chapters are perhaps long and tiresome to read, but, I repeat, it is obligatory for us Anarchists, to make clear to ourselves the so-called science of those who aspire to universal dictatorship. We know now, what to think of the discovery of surplus value. As to dialectics, so admirably cultivated by sophists in the days of Socrates (see "Georgias" by Plato), we willingly recognize that Marx and Engels made use of them in all their metaphysical speculation.

And it is just because they made this use of it that their researches have ended, as we are about to demonstrate, in formidable errors.

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